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A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

NATIONAL UNITY

Have We Got It?

AVERY CRAVEN · W. LLOYD WARNER
and the
ROVING REPORTER

391st BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY · 179

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ROUND TABLE

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NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

NATIONAL UNITY

Have We Got It?

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST*

AVERY O. CRAVEN, Professor of American History, University of Chicago

W. LLOYD WARNER, Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Chicago

and the

ROVING REPORTER

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago, over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, August 17, 1941, at 1:30 P.M., Central Daylight Saving Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

NATIONAL UNITY:

Have We Got It?

Public-opinion surveys and recent votes on important legislation in Congress have dramatized the differences of opinion in the United States and led many to ask: Have we national unity?

How strong is a nation if its people are not agreed upon major issues? Are the American people united upon any issues? Is the safety of the United States endangered by discord between groups within its borders? What constitutes "national unity" and why is it important?

These and many other questions are of vital importance to government leaders and to every citizen of the United States. To answer these and other questions, the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE *invited two expert observers to its microphone to be questioned by the* ROUND TABLE'S *Roving Reporter on the subject: "National Unity: Have We Got It?"*

MR. WARNER: We are gathered here this afternoon to discuss one of the problems that faces the American public at this time, namely, disunity in these United States. I am of the opinion that that problem is so grave that we ought to take every opportunity, every chance, and every measure to see to it that at this moment we gain national unity.

MR. CRAVEN: I am afraid that I cannot agree with you either on the gravity of the situation or on the necessity of drastic steps to secure unity.

REPORTER: Well, now, you two learned men can argue about that. I am just a reporter, but I can tell you the answer to your question today.

MR. WARNER: What do you mean? Where are you going to get your answer?

REPORTER: I have been getting answers to the question all over northern Illinois, northern Indiana, and southern Michigan—city, town, and country. The answer is that we haven't got national unity, and, most important of all, nobody whom I talked to thought we had national unity. There was a great deal more agreement on the issues of the war than there was feeling that we had any national unity.

MR. WARNER: That is why I am of the opinion that we must take every drastic measure necessary to see to it that we do get unity here in these United States to face the crisis we are now in.

MR. CRAVEN: Were the people alarmed? Are they concerned over the matter of national unity as a serious problem?

REPORTER: Well, take a section foreman on the Pennsylvania Railroad, outside of Gary. He said: "Look at the draft vote: Congress split right down the middle."[1] A tailor in Elgin said: "Everybody is a political party by himself. Look at the public-opinion polls." A Chicago cab driver said: "Why, we are all at each other's throat in this country. Look how we split right down the middle in the 1940 election."

MR. WARNER: I can see, gentlemen, we are in for a hot discussion here; before we start, let's see if we can clear up one or two points. What would you say we mean by "unity"?

MR. CRAVEN: Well, it seems to me that these opinions that the Roving Reporter quotes indicate not so much a lack of unity as they do a lack of uniformity.

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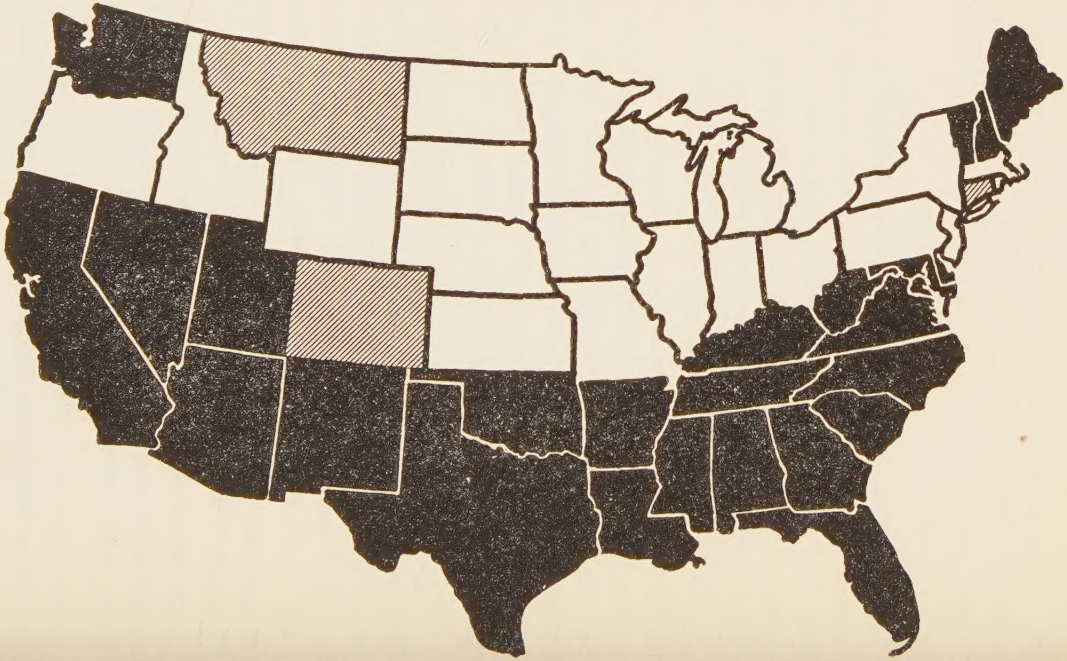
[1] *See illustration, page 4.*

HOW STATE DELEGATIONS VOTED ON DRAFT EXTENSION

The House of Representatives Voted 203 to 202 in Favor of Extending the Selective Service Training Period



MR. WARNER: What do you mean? What is the difference between uniformity and unity?

MR. CRAVEN: All the difference in the world. We can have national unity—that is, the people agreeing on certain fundamentals—but still have disagreement in regard to the procedure or the methods by which we should, as a nation, take our course.

REPORTER: I interviewed General Wood. He is the head of the America First Committee.

MR. WARNER: He has often been accused, you know, of being an element of disunity.

REPORTER: That's right. I went out to his office at Sears, Roebuck and Company. He certainly spoke as a patriot, and having been a general in the army I am sure he is. He simply took the position that, in order for a democracy to go to war and win, it must have 90 per cent of the people behind it.

MR. CRAVEN: I wouldn't agree to that, necessarily. Perhaps in an unusual emergency that might be the case, but it seems to me that unity as far as the nation is concerned pertains to only a few fundamental things.

Let me mention some of them. First of all, it seems to me that we all agree that the people ought to be united on the larger national purposes and on the matter of national preservation. I think we all agree on that.

MR. WARNER: Well, I think you will find that the American people are generally agreed on that. I'd say 99 per cent of them. What do you think of that, Mr. Reporter?

REPORTER: They are. I spoke to Elmo Roper over the telephone this morning. He is the man who runs the *Fortune* magazine poll. I spoke to Dr. George Gallup, in Princeton, New Jersey, who runs the Gallup poll. They agree that the American people are united on one question and that is *defense*. They are completely

united on defense. They wish to defend themselves if possible without sending an expeditionary force to Europe. But, says Roper, if necessary in order to defend ourselves, they will go all the way. And Roper adds this point, by the way: The day this country declares war, if it does, a minimum of 84 per cent of the American people will be behind the President.

MR. CRAVEN: That was the point I was going to make: When it comes to the point where war has been declared, then you will find that national unity is far greater than you think and that we have been confusing the lack of uniformity on procedure with the lack of national unity, fundamentally.

MR. WARNER: And another thing: Before the last war we certainly weren't a unified people, but, as soon as war was declared, we became very well united. There were very small groups that dissented. I believe the same thing will be true in this war.

At the present moment we are not in yet, and obviously people are stating their disagreements; but the moment we get into the war, I agree with Roper, we'll *all* be in it.

REPORTER: Interestingly enough, I got a ride with a truck driver out of Detroit who said, "I don't think we are steamed up the way we were in the last war." And I said, "Do you mean we are not steamed up the way we were before the last war, or after we were in it?" He said, "Well, now that you mention it, 'after we were in it' was what I am thinking about."

MR. CRAVEN: Well, as a historian, I think back to the coming of the Civil War. You remember that just before the war was declared New York City was in the mood of even seceding from the Union and forming a city-state. But, the minute war was declared, Lincoln was able to get the support of the North almost as a unit.

MR. WARNER: And what was interesting about that was that it was after Fort Sumter was fired on and after President Lincoln had sent his troops there to reinforce the fort. The moment it was

fired on there was almost unanimity of opinion for at least a period of time.

MR. CRAVEN: You are a little inaccurate there as far as the sending of troops to reinforce the fort; it was merely the sending of supplies.[2]

But I think we will agree that there must be unity of purpose in the defense of the nation and in the preservation of the nation.

I would add a second thing: Devotion to democratic ideals and democratic procedure is essential for unity.

REPORTER: It might be important to bring out the fact that the American people—I think I can testify for them—don't like that man Hitler. They say they don't dislike Hitler because primarily he threatens us, but because they don't like his way of doing business, which is a negative way, it seems to me, of saying that they don't like a man who is fighting the democratic ideals to which we aspire.

MR. WARNER: Wait a minute! I agree with all you have said except one point; that is, that they don't think of him as a menace, as you put it. As a matter of fact, the polls show quite clearly that people are very apprehensive about Hitler's objectives and Germany's moves in relation to the United States—well over 60 per cent, if the polls are to be believed.[3]

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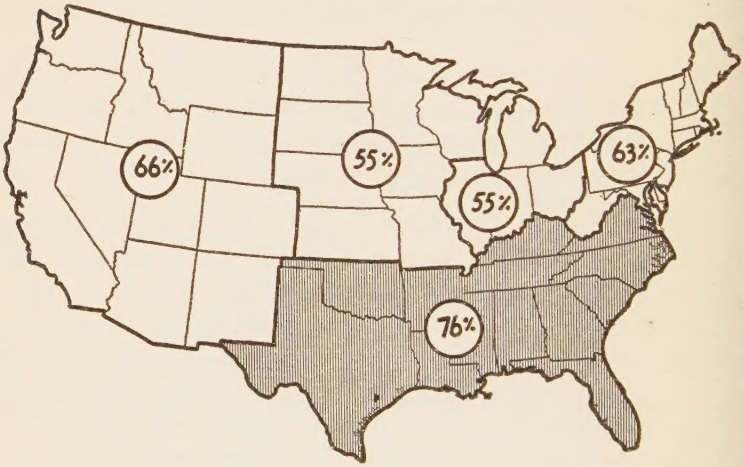
[2] *New York business interests, closely affiliated with southern planters, constituted a strong conservative element working for peace even at the price of concessions to the South during the closing months of 1860 and the spring of 1861. During this period six southern states seceded from the Union, and Mayor Wood of New York City suggested that New York might also secede to form an independent city-state in order to force a policy of peace upon the administration.*

[3] *The Gallup poll released May 31, 1941, showed that 62 per cent of the people asked believed the Axis would start a war against the United States (if Britain were defeated) within the next ten years.*

THE SOLID SOUTH

Gallup Reports on "Aiding Britain—Even at the Risk of War"
January 10, 1941



MR. CRAVEN: But regardless of that, I think both of you will agree with me that unity in the United States does consist in the supporting of our democratic ideals and our democratic procedures.

MR. WARNER: What are those democratic procedures?

MR. CRAVEN: I mean voting, the right of petition, and the right, for instance, of court procedure, and the right . . . .

MR. WARNER: The right to vote for your leaders and, after you have made your decision about your leaders, to allow those leaders to act. I would say that that is true; that, after all, democratic procedure fixes it so that the leaders themselves can make their decisions operate.

REPORTER: Warner, let me make something clear about this question of Hitler's being a menace. The people I talked to regarded him as a menace, without exception, but when you get into a town

like New Carlisle, Indiana, and talk to a carpenter (he is a great big brawny old guy), and he turns around to you and says, "Sure, we'll lick this guy; but wait 'til he starts over here. We can take care of him." I get the impression that they regard him as a menace but that they feel we are tough enough, or we can get tough enough, to repel him.

MR. WARNER: Craven, you have been studying American history for a very long time. What would you say was the outstanding disuniting factor in American history?

MR. CRAVEN: Well, let me just make this point, tying the two things together: I say that there are certain essentials for national unity, but it seems to me that, while we must have unity on certain fundamental things, there is every reason under the sun for there being a difference of opinion in regard to procedure. It seems to me that out of our traditional background you find plenty of room for differences of opinion on procedure. We have the whole story, for instance, of American sectionalism. We have an East; we have a West; we have the Middle West; and we have the South.

MR. WARNER: One hears that the administration in Washington is very much concerned about the so-called "isolationism" of the West.

MR. CRAVEN: And one also hears it said that the nearer one comes to the Atlantic coast the more people one finds in favor of entering the war.

REPORTER: Let me ask you why the South, which is as provincial and as isolated from Europe as is the Middle West, is so belligerent in comparison with the Middle West, which is isolationist.[4]

MR. CRAVEN: I would say, first, that the South is, of course, "solid" politically, and it has been inclined to support the administration more regularly perhaps than most other sections. I

[4] *See illustration, page 8.*

think also, if you go back into the past of the South, you will find it is a very personal sort of a region, that it has a military tradition coming out of the Civil War period, and a number of things of that kind which tend to make it more inclined to assault and battery and open expression of its opinion for aggressive action.

REPORTER: Warner, as a sociologist, I wonder if you will tell the listeners where you see the conflicts, the real disunity in this country? What about strikes, for instance? The communists can't be accused of fomenting the new strikes because the communists are in favor of the war, but you have this shipbuilding strike—seventeen thousand men are out—and a railroad strike is threatened.

MR. WARNER: I think it is quite clear that there are very strong class differences in this country. We like to overlook them because we think classes aren't democratic. Nevertheless, it is very clear that there are high groups, middle groups, and low groups in this country, with strong divergences of opinion and interest.

The last election showed that very clearly. It is quite clear that the newspapers, owned largely by the upper classes and dominated by people of property, were in favor of the Republican party, and they thought Willkie would make a good president; whereas, most of the people, judging by the election, and that is to say the lower classes, were not in favor so much of the Republican party as of the Democratic party. There were class differences.

MR. CRAVEN: Yes. I think, however, as far as this matter of difference of opinion and lack of uniformity on questions is concerned today, that arises more out of the traditional isolationist character and opinion of the American people.

REPORTER: I was going to bring that up. Let me tell you what Gus Kawalski says. Gus Kawalski is a deputy sheriff and farmer and man of parts around northern Indiana, and he insists that every man he knows, without exception, is skeptical of getting mixed up in Europe's affairs and was disillusioned by the last war.

Another man I talked to is a gasoline-station operator, and he said, "When do we get the money back that we gave England in the last war? Let 'em tell us they are going to pay and then we'll fight again."

MR. WARNER: Despite the magnificent interviews that you are describing with the common people of these middle western states, we know by the sampling that the polls have been conducting that the American people, on the whole, are in favor of taking some kind of drastic action in relation to this present world-struggle. It may not mean war, but they say that we must do something, and they are willing to do something about it. Certainly, the last *Fortune* poll showed that quite clearly.[5]

[5] *The "Fortune" poll asked ("Fortune," August, 1941): "Which one of the following statements most nearly represents your attitude toward the present war?*

"Those who think this is our war are wrong, and the people of this country should resist to the last ditch any move that would lead us further toward war.	*16.3%*	*38.7%*
"A lot of mistakes have brought us close to a war that isn't ours, but now that it's done we should support in full the government's program.	*22.4*	
"While at first it looked as though this was not our war, it now looks as though we should back England until Hitler is beaten.	*41.3*	*53.7*
"It is our war as well as England's, and we should have been in there fighting with her before this.	*12.4*	
"Don't know.	*7.6*	

Commenting on these figures, "Fortune" stated:

"This puts 53.7 per cent of the people, or 58.1 per cent of those with

REPORTER: Wouldn't you say that with reference to our traditional isolationism we are really in a state of self-contradiction?

MR. WARNER: That's right.

REPORTER: Most of the people I talked to want to help England, on the one hand, but they don't want to go to war, on the other.[6] They don't like Hitler.

MR. WARNER: Well, it's no different than when one needs an operation. You don't want an operation, but, on the other hand, you want to be well. If you must have the operation, you go through with it.

MR. CRAVEN: All of which, gentlemen, it seems to me, draws the distinction that I made in the beginning between unity and uniformity. We can say that there is fundamental unity in the United States and that the people, in case of declaration of war, would come to the support and defense of the government. But, on the other hand, owing to our background and to our experiences, there is a wide lack of uniformity in regard to the matter of procedure. Now, is that a good thing?

MR. WARNER: Obviously it depends upon the kind of uniformity or lack of uniformity that we have. It is rather clear that there are certain disuniting elements in this country at the present time. It is also very clear, gentlemen, that we are all interested in getting unity. It is very important to get unity.

REPORTER: Now, Warner, the question is how are we going to get it?

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definite opinions (after 'don't knows' are eliminated), into the militant interventionist camp. . . . . This reduces last-ditch isolationism to a fraction of what it was and apparently marshals more than a solid three-quarters of the public behind the government's policy, even if that policy should lead to war, although 22.4 per cent betray a strong lack of enthusiasm for the stages through which it has evolved."

[6] *See illustration, next page.*

FOR AID BUT AGAINST ENTERING WAR

How the American Public Has Answered Questions on American Policy

"It is more important than ever (since Germany may defeat Russia and turn against Britain) that we help Britain:"

"Should the United States enter the war now?" Opposed:

EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 10 PER CENT

Note: On August 17, Dr. Gallup reported that 83 per cent are opposed to sending an army to Europe "if the U.S. does enter the war."

MR. CRAVEN: There is another question. How desirable is complete unity? Is it absolutely necessary—to the point of uniformity as well as unity, I mean?

MR. WARNER: I would say it is absolutely essential at the

present time. I would say that the democracies have always preserved their liberties, have always preserved those things that they cherish most when they have been willing, for a period of time, to give up certain rights in order to preserve their national safety.

MR. CRAVEN: It seems to me that there is always a tendency for certain groups to take the leadership and to urge action. Those groups have assumed, as a rule, that they are the patriotic groups and that they are the national groups.

MR. WARNER: For example?

MR. CRAVEN: Well, that was true, for instance, in the American Revolution. During that period those who were for separation from England assumed they were the patriots and harried many of the other inhabitants of importance out of the land with tar and feathers.

MR. WARNER: On the other hand, Craven, many of the people who did not want to take action at that time were those people who were perfectly willing to line up with England because their own selfish interests were identified with the mother-country. You can't call those people patriots by any possible definition.

MR. CRAVEN: That is perfectly true, but what I am saying is that there were differences of opinion on the procedure and on the time when we should break with England and whether or not there were good reasons for the break. There might have been differences of opinion as to procedure, but fundamentally I am of the opinion that a great many men were harried out of the land with a charge of being disloyal simply because they were not ready to take the step at the time when this aggressive group was willing to take it. I think that applies to the present time as well.

MR. WARNER: I disagree with you fundamentally.

REPORTER: Just a minute! On this question of the American Revolution and national unity. Do I understand you to say that we

id not have national unity when we went into the Revolutionary War and that a minority took us into the Revolution?

MR. CRAVEN: I would say that not more than one-third of the colonists were for separation from England; that one-third, perhaps, were indifferent and in the end would move along with the tide; and that one-third were definitely opposed to action.

MR. WARNER: Craven, you raise my hair in horror! What you are really implying is that the Revolutionary War was fought, or at least brought forward, by a minority and that fundamentally democratic processes weren't carried through. If that is so, by democratic standards we ought never to have had the Revolutionary War.

MR. CRAVEN: No. The conclusion you draw is wrong, but I think I am stating the position, almost unanimously held by the orthodox historian today—that the American Revolution was carried forward by a minority of the people.

MR. WARNER: Then, if you take the other possibility, it is that it is perfectly right to follow the minority, because frequently the minority is right. In that case, then, the whole democratic procedure breaks down.

MR. CRAVEN: On the other hand, you might say that sometimes a majority is also right, and the only question is: Who is going to judge whether the minority or the majority is right?

REPORTER: Now, gentlemen, we haven't got time this afternoon to fight the Revolution again. Let's get on to the present difficulty. I think that the argument is one which concerns timing, isn't it?

MR. CRAVEN: Exactly.

MR. WARNER: What do you mean? I say this: In this present emergency we are very close to a shooting war. We are involved in many ways; and at this moment we ought to be taking measures to see to it that we have national unity.

REPORTER: Well, you will be interested in what Mr. Wendell Willkie told me over the telephone. He is in favor of the President's foreign policy. Willkie said (and I quote): "I have so much faith in the democratic processes that I believe that to let every man have his say is the best way to establish a sound position and to dissipate the fallacies."

MR. CRAVEN: That is exactly my position. My notion is that in the democratic order it is absolutely necessary to have differences of opinion. We do not need uniformity. We may need unity on fundamentals, but it is not necessary to have uniformity of opinion. The democratic process does dictate that even the most insignificant individual has his right to his say, even on vital issues to the point where our national existence is threatened.

MR. WARNER: I would agree with you entirely in time of peace. But the present moment is not a time of peace, even though we have not declared a war. How far would you go in your demands for lack of uniformity? If we had actually declared war, would you take the position that a substantial body of the American people could do everything possible to prevent the successful conclusion of that war?

MR. CRAVEN: First of all, I'd note that we are not in war at the present time.

MR. WARNER: Right.

MR. CRAVEN: In the United States we are not at war until Congress declares war.[7]

MR. WARNER: I suppose, then, that most of the people in Asia and Europe are not at war. Is that what you are saying?

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[7] *The Constitution (Art. I, sec. 8) reads: "The Congress shall have power . . . . to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water."*

MR. CRAVEN: I am saying that the United States is not officially at war until the Congress declares war. And until you reach the point where the national existence is threatened, it is not necessary to clamp down and to stop the expression of opinion. In fact, I think you will get greater national unity by permitting the expression of opinion than if you do clamp down and deny men the right to express their opinions.

MR. WARNER: Do you mean to say that if we were actually in a shooting war that was not declared, if we hadn't gone to the trouble of declaring war because of national interests, if we were in very grave danger and the Germans were actually attacking us, and it was necessary to have the country completely unified, you would still argue that we should allow people to go on expressing themselves freely? It seems to me that that is sort of a never-never world you are talking about.

MR. CRAVEN: Well, now, wait a minute! It seems to me you are assuming certain things without the facts to support them. First of all, I am arguing that a free expression of opinion is good, sound democratic doctrine.

MR. WARNER: Exactly.

MR. CRAVEN: That you can permit expression of opinion until the expression of opinion actually interferes with your national safety.

MR. WARNER: Now when does that time come?

MR. CRAVEN: And not only is the question as to when that time comes important, but who is to decide when that time comes—your leaders or your people?

MR. WARNER: I have two answers to give you.

REPORTER: Now just a minute, gentlemen. I know you two fellows want to fight, but . . . .

MR. WARNER: I am awfully interested in hearing what you have to say, but, remember, I have two answers here.

REPORTER: Hold your two answers! The question, it seems to me, is one of timing. If we have to shut down on the democratic processes, at what point do we shut down?

MR. CRAVEN: Exactly.

MR. WARNER: I have an answer to that one, too.

REPORTER: Wait a minute! General Wood's position is that this country is not at war, since only Congress can declare war, and that we cannot limit the fundamental rights of the people until we are at war. When we go to war, all fundamental rights are off for the duration. But, he says, the question is whether the city council of Atlanta, Georgia, should be supported when as of this date it refuses Senator Wheeler a hall to talk in.

MR. WARNER: Mr. Reporter, I wonder if you are sufficiently privy to the General's ideas to tell us whether or not he has any definition of when we are in a war. How does he define it?

REPORTER: He used the expression "when Congress declares war."

MR. WARNER: I see. He uses the expression "when Congress declares war." The General, somehow or other, it seems to me, is outdated or outmoded, because under modern procedures nations don't go to the trouble of declaring war.

To go back to my two answers, Craven; first, on this matter of timing: we do not wait until Congress declares war and the President follows through. This is a modern, technological world. We can no longer follow the old procedures that once were all right. If we are in a shooting war and in grave danger at this time, then we clamp down, and we take the right attitude as I see it.

Now, let me answer your other question about leadership. The democratic process, Craven, consists of the people deciding on what

they want to do by the free exercise of their franchise. After that decision has been made and they have placed a leader in charge of their country, then it is up to the leader to make the decisions; and that leader, Mr. Craven, is Mr. Roosevelt.

REPORTER: Warner, would you say that the time is *now* to suppress the opposition, and if you would . . . .

MR. WARNER: How are you going to do it?

REPORTER: Well, how *are* you going to do it? I have here the *Chicago Tribune* on the subject of Roosevelt's interview with Churchill at sea. The *Chicago Tribune* says, editorially, that Mr. Roosevelt has betrayed his country, that he is thoroughly un-American.[8] What would you do about the *Chicago Tribune*, about Wheeler, Lindbergh, Nye—and what would you do *now?*

MR. WARNER: If I weren't on the ROUND TABLE, I'd tell you what I'd do about that particular quote; but I *am* on the ROUND TABLE, so I can't say those things.

MR. CRAVEN: As far as the expression of opinion is concerned, it seems to me that these technical changes that Warner talks about, these matters of undeclared war and so forth, make it all the more imperative that the democratic system function. The people are able to get their information in better shape now than they ever would before, and consequently they are in a better position to express sound opinions than ever before. And I am in favor of allowing the expression of opinion until it interferes with national security.

MR. WARNER: Craven, I see now that we can't agree upon this matter of timing. We can't agree entirely upon how we are going to make the decision about timing.

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[8] *On Friday, August 15, 1941, the "Chicago Tribune," in an editorial entitled "What Has Roosevelt Promised Churchill?" stated: "He is thoroly* [*sic*] *un-American. . . . . He comes of a stock that has never thought for the country and he now betrays it, altho* [*sic*] *it has repudiated his program and him with it."*

However, there are certain things which I think all of us are agreed on. We can agree on what national unity means. We can agree it is unity of purpose for our national preservation—for the preservation of democratic ideals, for the preservation of democratic procedures.

We also agreed that there were certain factors that are possibly contributing to our disunity. Among those things are sectionalism, class conflict, self-interest where it interferes with national interests, and other matters such as traditional isolationism.

However, I think that we can all agree that we are a unified people for all the necessary purposes that we face at the present time; and, if war should come tomorrow, we would be able to get together, united in action, with one single purpose, and that would be to win.

REPORTER: The only point, then, upon which you two learned men are disunited is the time when it is necessary to clamp down on people and to suppress the Bill of Rights?

MR. CRAVEN: My tendency would be to permit, under the democratic system, as free expression as possible as long as possible.

REPORTER: And yours, Warner?

MR. WARNER: My position is that we must immediately clamp down on the ordinary freedoms of speech and freedom of the press.

SUGGESTED READINGS

"The Case for Unity," *Saturday Evening Post*, April 26, 1941. *Absolute faith in the integrity and wholesomeness of words is essential for unity according to this editorial.*

"Civilian Mobilization: The Battle for America," *Fortune*, August, 1941. *A fictitious report to Hitler by an American "agent."*

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DANIELS, JONATHAN, "A Native at Large," *Nation*, November 16, 1940. *Mr. Daniels believes that unity draws vitality from the creativeness of controversy.*

GALLUP, G., "Unity," *American Magazine*, April, 1941.

GRAM SWING, RAYMOND, "Peace, Power and Education," *Survey Graphic*, July, 1941. *A lucid discussion of the forces shaping a whole generation in America.*

HOLT, R. D., "What National Unity Means," *Scribner's Commentator*, January, 1941.

KIRCHWEY, FREDA, "Unity for What?" *Nation*, November 16, 1940. *A concept of unity which blurs the issues on which the struggle is being waged is not a source of national strength but a threat to it.*

"Liberty and Union," *Christian Century*, April 9, 1941.

MAUROIS, ANDRÉ, "A House Divided against Itself," *Harper's*, February, 1941. *A penetrating discussion on what constitutes unity in a democracy, with special attention on the experience of France.*

"Need for National Unity," *Ladies Home Journal*, April, 1941. *"Without the will there can be no way." How can we produce that spirit which enables a people to defend itself?*

"Public Opinion," *Scholastic*, May 5, 1941. *Divide and rule is a potent device both for military conquest and for internal dissension.*

THOMPSON, DOROTHY, "What Can I Do?" *Ladies Home Journal*, May, 1941. *A brief explanation of the role of the individual in the building of morale.*

VILLARD, OSWALD GARRISON, "There Can Be No Unity," *Christian Century*, May 7, 1941.

WILLKIE, WENDELL L., "Our Faith in the Union," *Vital Speeches*, July 1, 1941.

"Willkie Is Wise," *Collier's*, March 1, 1941. *The suggestion is advanced that political loyalties are unimportant (should be set aside) during crises.*

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OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. What is the difference between unity and uniformity according to the speakers? Page 5.
2. On what question are the Gallup and *Fortune* polls in agreement? Page 5.
3. Name several requisites of unity. Pages 5 and 7.
4. If war is declared, what percentage of the people will back the move, according to Mr. Roper? Page 6.
5. What northern city wished to secede from the Union in 1861 because of disagreement with the administration's policy? Page 7.
6. The South is united on what side of the present controversy? Page 9.
7. What section of the United States is "isolationist" in its opinion today? Page 9.
8. What proportion of the colonists were united in demanding separation from England? Page 15.
9. Who declares war in the United States? Page 16.
10. What elements in our culture contribute to national disunity? Page 20.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on pages 21–22.

*

1. Do you feel that polls such as the Gallup and *Fortune* are accurate indices of public opinion? In answering, consider the types of questions asked. Are there any contradictions?
2. What role does sectionalism play in determining the degree of national unity? What other elements contribute to disunity? How were these elements apparent in the last election?
3. Do you feel there is a distinction between unity and uniformity? Explain.
4. Discuss the processes whereby a minority may force the majority into action. If, as is suggested by the speakers, this occurred during the American Revolution, what does this imply?
5. What is meant by "timing" in the determination of national policy? Analyze this in the light of present-day events.
6. In the event that shooting begins without a declaration of war, what procedure would you advocate? Discuss the relationship of the people to the President and to Congress.
7. Is the unity in a democracy desirable, and, if so, how can it be obtained? Discuss.
8. When and how should freedom of expression be curtailed? Discuss.

The Listeners' Round Table . . . .

Letters to the ROUND TABLE *frequently contain interesting and illuminating sidelights on the subject matter discussed on the air. These comments are from letters received following the broadcast discussion of "Japan: Setting Sun?" August 10, 1941.*

*

The British, etc.

I listen rather regularly to your discussions and usually find them stimulating.

Your handling of the Far East yesterday interested me particularly for two reasons: (1) your apparently imprecise thinking and (2) your lack of careful avoidance of several interesting facts.

As an example of the imprecise thinking, one of your men made quite a point of America's failure to do anything to stop Japan in the case of Manchukuo *et seq.* Nothing whatever was said of Stimson's experience in 1931 when he proposed to Britain that it and America present a joint *démarche* to Japan—and Britain said a definite "No." Nothing whatever was said of Britain's continuous appeasement of Japan, which, so far as any concrete or definite evidence is concerned, may still be going on.

But what intrigued me most was the harping on Japan's tendencies toward monopoly as a reason for our going to war, if necessary, to stop it. An ancillary reason was that, when Japan secures a monopoly, she "jacks up prices." And all this was repeated without a single voice being raised in mention of the airtight monopolies of rubber, tin, tea, quinine, and diamonds held by the British and Dutch. We are now crevicing the tea monopoly, I think; but the others remain secure. And if any of your estimable experts think these monopolies don't jack up their prices, then their thinking is even less precise than it seemed yesterday. They need the information that first-line American tires are sold in the East for much less than we pay in this country—despite transportation charges on rubber to factory and tire to market.

I should like to have these gentlemen's explanation of just how Japan's seizure of these monopolies would work against us any more than does British and Dutch possession of them. Our experience with Japan where silk—a Japanese monopoly—is concerned has not been unpleasant or expensive. Some mention was made of the fact that Japan would "kick out" American firms from the East. I wonder how many American firms your experts can find in Singapore and the East Indies—and I wonder how many think the British would tolerate American competition in China and Japan if they had the sort of control there that they have in Singapore.

For your information, none of my

ancestors was ever in or around Germany or Japan. I simply hate to see the ROUND TABLE go specious and loose—and I hate worse to see us engage in a war to defend one set of foreign monopolies against another.

A. L. C., Texas

*

Rubber

The three men discussing American and Japanese interests in the Far East were pretty good. I can't see any harm in seeing Japan take the rubber. She can't eat it, so she will sell it to us. We don't own the East Indies, so we have to buy the rubber from a foreign power anyway.

W. W., Wisconsin

*

Appeasement

President Roosevelt stated a few days ago that by appeasing Japan he had kept peace in the South Pacific. More truthfully he could have said that by feeding the Japanese army and helping Japan murder three million Chinese, including countless women and children, he had diverted war and kept holdings and privileges of a few American corporations out of Japanese reach. Indeed, how could he talk about having kept peace in the Pacific while millions were slaughtered near the "zone of peace"?

My opinion is that America could not possibly have chosen a worse moment to stop Japan. Yesterday the American people wanted to help China in the name of democracy and freedom, but today what are we defending but the continuation of exploitation? Do you believe that native labor in the East Indies would be treated worse by the Japanese than it has been by Dutch, American, and English corporations? What are the earnings of the natives in Africa, West Indies, and Asia under the enlightened exploitation of the Westerners?

What strikes me the most is that we have never asked what the sixty millions of East Indians would like to have; they have been only human chattels, mistreated by every power and exploited for a few cents a day by our wealthy corporations. It is only a struggle of empires, disputing among themselves the title of ownership to sixty millions of slaves and not the struggle against aggressors and for democratic rights. Why don't we ask ourselves if we have any right in the East Indies; but let us get out ourselves in the name of those elementary principles of freedom and self-determination which so often we boast of to protect ourselves or to attack some other nation. We can buy rubber and tin from natives, as we buy silk from Japan and silver from Mexico; but let us stop this long-abused colonial exploitation, which we may agree is the cause of the present war in Europe and in Asia.

M. G., Kansas

*

Comparisons

While listening to your Sunday discussion, as is my custom, I heard one of you speak of the man in Missouri who looked at the map to locate the Philippines and then at his two boys of draft age. Someone added that we must consider the price we might have to pay for rubber if Japan gained con-

rol of the source of that commodity. o it is for rubber that our boys are to ie, is it? It is so that we can "ride on ubber wheels" that they must, before ey have even started to live, be maimed, blinded, and killed, and kill? t might be better to save the youth f this country, better for the country self, on wooden wheels. Have we eached a time in the history of the orld, and of the people thereon, when hings—tin, rubber, quinine, bath-ubs, refrigerators, autos—are worth ore than the people themselves?

B. L. W., Massachusetts

In Other Words

That was a peculiar discussion of yours yesterday. Japan must have more. That is certain. If she, however, occupies more than she has, we go to war and defeat her. Then we turn around and give her what she needs. And she does need more.

In other words: We go to war just to be the boss far, far away. Have the Asiatics not a right to have a sort of Monroe Doctrine over there? Your discussion was anything but convincing.

C. G. G., Missouri

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Nos.

1940

98. *The Jews*
101. *Tariff Walls*
104. *Is America's Economic Frontier Closed?*
105. *Must the World Unite?*
106. *Can We Protect America?*
111. *Where's That War Boom?*
113. *Blitzkrieg, May, 1940*
114. *America and the Peacemongers*
115. *Babies Cost Money*
117. *Have We Time to Think?*
119. *America's Capacity to Arm*
120. *Economic Union for the Americas*
121. *Civil Liberties and the Fifth Column*
122. *M-Day and America*
126. *What Really Happened at Havana?*
128. *Blitzkrieg on Britain*
129. *Should America Aid Britain?*
131. *Can Germany Conquer Latin America?*
132. *Conscript Wealth, Too?*
134. *Will Hitler Attack America Next?*
137. *Warmongers and Appeasers*
140. *World Revolution*
141. *Art and Our Warring World*
142. *The Soviet Union and America*
143. *Is Hitler Revolutionizing Britain?*
144. *Where Are Those 50,000 Planes?*
146. *1951: The Next Decade in Education*

1941

147. *More Aid to Britain Now?*
148. *Is This Our War?*

Nos.

149. *Morale: First Line of Defense?*
150. *Can Capitalism Defend America?*
152. *Can the Americas Be Invaded?*
153. *Guns or Butter?*
154. *Dilemma in the Far East*
155. *How to Fight Nazi Propaganda*
156. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*
157. *Strikes and National Defense*
158. *Defense Economics*
159. *Should We Convoy to Britain?*
160. *Balkan Blitzkrieg*
161. *War Aims and Peace Aims*
162. *Which Road for America?*
163. *Lessons from Europe's War*
164. *The Effect of the Blitzkrieg on the Economic Order*
165. *Defense and America's Health*
166. *Roosevelt* vs. *Hitler*
167. *Polls and the Crisis*
168. *Where's Bunker Hill?*
169. *War against the Middle Classes?*
170. *The Crisis and Your Pocketbook*
171. *America and the German-Soviet War*
172. *Soviet Russia at War*
173. *Our Liberties*
174. *Blueprint for Hemisphere Defense*
175. *Should America Clear the Seas of the Nazis?*
176. *Economic Consequences of a German Victory*
177. *Defense: Who'll Pay the Piper?*
178. *Japan: Setting Sun?* August 10

ALL ROUND TABLE TRANSCRIPTS CONTAIN ADDED FACTUAL MATERIAL IN THE FORM OF GRAPHS, MAPS, PICTOGRAPHS, FOOTNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHIES, ETC.

ROUND TABLE NETWORK

2:30 P.M. EASTERN DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1260	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810
Pittsburgh, Pa.	WCAE	1250			

1:30 P.M. EASTERN STANDARD TIME

Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Dayton, Ohio	WING	1410	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1450			

12:30 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME

Amarillo, Texas	KGNC	1440	Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Minneapolis and		
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500
Bristol, Tenn.	WOPI	1490	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Dallas-Fort Worth,			Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Tex.	WBAP	820	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
El Paso, Texas	KTSM	1380	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	San Antonio, Texas	WOAI	1200
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1300	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1240
Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230			

11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN STANDARD TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240			

10:30 A.M. PACIFIC STANDARD TIME

Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590

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Uncle Sam's Weapons in the Economic War

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A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

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AUGUST 24, 1941

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WALTER H. C. LAVES, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago

EUGENE STALEY, Professor of International Economic Relations, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Mass.; Visiting Professor of Economics, University of Chicago

(THIRD PARTICIPANT TO BE ANNOUNCED)

•

SUGGESTED READINGS

BALDWIN, HANSON W., "Hitler Can Be Defeated: Economic Measures," *New York Times Magazine*, June 15, 1941.

BIDWELL, PERCY W., and UPGREN, A. R., "Trade Policy for National Defense," *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1941.

"U.S. Forges Economic Weapons against the Nazis," *Newsweek*, June 9, 1941.

[PRINTED IN U·S·A]